

by a health plan towards physicians who advocate on behalf of their patients within the health plan, or before an external review entity. Family physicians, as primary care physicians, play a pivotal role in ensuring that their patients get access to the care they need. Health plans should not have the power to threaten or retaliate against physicians they contract with to provide needed health care services.

Independent external review standards must be truly independent. Managed care reform must contain a fair, independent standard of external review by an outside entity. It makes no sense to pay an outside reviewer to use the same standard of care used by some health plans which may limit care to the lowest cost option that does not endanger the life of the patient. All of our patients deserve better.

Patients need the right to seek enforcement of external review decisions in court. Managed care reform must allow patients to seek enforcement of an independent external review entity decision against the health plan. Without explicit recourse to the courts, the protections of external review are meaningless.

Patients need access to primary care physicians and other specialists. Managed care reform must allow patients to seek care from the appropriate specialist, including both family physician and obstetricians/gynecologists for women's health, as well as both family physicians and pediatricians for children's health. Primary care physicians should provide acute care and preventive care for the entire person, and other specialists should provide ongoing care for conditions or disease.

And so you see, Mr. Speaker, from patient to physician, from consumer to provider, those who want serious reform and serious change know that the Dingell-Norwood bill is the way to go.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. HASTINGS of Washington). Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Oklahoma (Mr. ISTOOK) is recognized for 5 minutes.

(Mr. ISTOOK addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. SOUDER) is recognized for 5 minutes.

(Mr. SOUDER addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)

TWO EXTREMES IN THE HEALTH CARE REFORM DEBATE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. SHADEGG) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. SHADEGG. Mr. Speaker, I want to begin by thanking my colleague, the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. DAVIS). He read a letter from a doctor, a constituent of his, who said that he supported two bills, and I think it is very important to note that of the two numbers he read off, the second number

that the doctor wrote him about said he supported H.R. 2824.

I think the doctor is right about that. H.R. 2824 is the Coburn-Shadegg bill, the bill that I have cosponsored, and his medical doctor constituent wrote to him to say that he favored either the Norwood-Dingell bill or the Coburn-Shadegg bill. I hope tomorrow the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. DAVIS) will cross the line and do exactly what that doctor said, support the Coburn-Shadegg bill, because it is a reasonable alternative.

I want to talk for a moment about the two extremes in this important health care debate. One extreme says we should do nothing about the faults in the Employee Retirement Income Security Act. One of our colleagues, the gentleman from Mississippi (Mr. PICKERING), his father is a district judge. He has written a number of opinions in this area. I want to quote from those.

I sent around a series of dear colleagues: "ERISA abuses people. Courts cry out for reform." Here is what Judge Pickering wrote: "It is indeed an anomaly that an act passed for the security of the employees should be used almost exclusively to defeat their security, and to leave them without remedies for fraud and overreaching."

Second in this series that I want to talk about, "ERISA abuses people, courts cry out for reform," is a decision written by Judge William Young of the Federal District Court in Boston. He writes, "It is extremely troubling that in the health insurance context, ERISA has evolved into a shield of immunity which thwarts the legitimate claims of the very people it is designed to protect."

I want to conclude this series by again reading from another opinion by Judge Pickering in which he says, "Every single case brought before this court has involved an insurance company using ERISA as a shield to prevent employees from having the legal redress and remedies they would have had under the longstanding State laws existing before the adoption of ERISA."

Not amending ERISA is an extreme position that will hurt the American people. But I want to point out, there is another extreme position in this debate. That second extreme position is represented by the Norwood-Dingell bill.

The Norwood-Dingell bill is extreme in several regards. First and foremost, it does not protect employers from liability. I want plans held liable. I do not want Mrs. Corcoran's baby to be killed and the plan to be able to walk away, as happened in Corcoran versus United States Health Care. But when that plan is held liable, I do not want the employer held liable. The employer just hired the plan. The employer just wanted to offer health care to his or her employees.

The Coburn-Shadegg proposal, now joined by the gentleman from Florida (Mr. GOSS), the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. GREENWOOD), and the gentleman from California (Mr. THOMAS) protects employers. Employers are not liable unless they directly participate in the final decision. That is the key language.

That means, and here is the debate, and Members will hear this from industry, an employer is not liable, cannot be sued, for merely selecting a plan or for merely deciding what coverage ought to be, or for selecting a third party administrator.

An employer cannot be held liable for selecting or continuing the maintenance of the plan. They cannot be held liable for modifying or terminating the plan. They cannot be held liable for the design of or coverage or the benefits to be included in the plan. They can only be held liable if they make the final decision to deny care. That is the way it should be.

I want to go on to point out that the other extreme position represented by Norwood-Dingell is lawsuits by anyone, as my colleague, the gentleman from California (Mr. THOMAS) pointed out, that let the jury decide injury. Our bill says no, you have to have a panel of doctors to decide injury.

Lawsuits at any time. They do not want you to have to go through internal and external review. They do not want to have to give the plan a chance to make the right decision. They want to just go to court.

Lawsuits over anything. Our legislation says it has to be a covered benefit. Their legislation says you can sue over anything, just get the lawyer and go to court. Their bill says lawsuits even when the plan does everything right. Our legislation says, no, if the plan makes the right decision, you should not be able to throw the book at them in court and drag them and blackmail them into making a settlement.

Their position is lawsuits without limits. They want all kinds of unlimited damages. There are over 100 organizations, not trial lawyers, but over 100 organizations endorsing the Goss-Coburn-Shadegg-Greenwood-Thomas proposal. I urge my colleagues to join us in passing this needed legislation.

A RULE WHICH MAKES PASSING GOOD MANAGED CARE REFORM DIFFICULT

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 6, 1999, the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PALLONE) is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the minority leader.

Mr. PALLONE. Mr. Speaker, in this Republican Congress, the special interests who write the big checks get the last word. The day before the House